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868 and ordinary work, to which his parents even now introduce him as early as possible,—were those he needed at the time of taking a head or of defending his own: and here again, the best means for acquiring them was practice by imitation or necessity. Even the use of the spear, the headax and the shield was never formally taught: a young man saw his elders at work, and did as they did. After all, a real attack, openly and face to face, has always been rather the exception; to fall unawares on an unsuspecting enemy, to kill a defenceless woman or child, and similar exploits, were usually much more in the line of the Isneg. If nevertheless some of them have been real braves, practice, not formal teaching, has made them such. But nowadays these happy times seem to be gone forever: every Isneg man cultivates his fields in peace and sits undisturbed under his coconut tree, the latter eventuality being usually the more frequent

857 Isneg boys and girls are found of play, this is only natural; but
524 their choice is very limited. Indeed, except for the sport of *bisnág*, most of the time these types of play merely consist in running and wrestling, at least as far as active sports that may serve to develop bodily strength are concerned. A group of Isneg boys, whether inside or outside the house, rarely keep quiet for a long time, and very soon playful fighting, which for the most part consists in slapping and kicking one another, is indulged in. This romping, which the Isneg call by the comprehensive term of *mazoúrdd*, after a time becomes so noisy that other people present cannot hear one another's voices, until some old fellow cries: "*Pázat*" (no special meaning), at which the infernal noise stops on the spot, to begin again, of course, at the first opportunity. Isneg girls, although usually less rough and noisy, are not loath to follow the example of the members of the ruder sex; this is generally, but not always, done among themselves exclusively.

[863] Baths are taken rather frequently by both adults and children:
515 the latter either follow the example of their elders or go to take a splash in the river with their companions. In this case each sex keeps strictly apart almost without exception: indeed an Isneg mother never fails to teach her girls a certain modesty as the best means to prevent regrettable incidents. Baths are always taken in some stream of
[34] running water; ponds of still water besides being very rare in the Isneg country, are usually infested with crocodiles, and no Isneg would think of fetching water from somewhere to take his ablutions at home: his village is always situated near some river or brook, and he would consider it as the acme of absurdity to go to the stream in

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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found 575

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same. 364 515 862

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw. 514 863 177

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife. 356 863

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisndg*. *Bisndg* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisndg* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better. 524 857 865 865 201 861

Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient. 524 865

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And first the patient (*magtân*). This man takes a sitting posture, in the case of the Isneg mostly on the ground or on the floor, and extends both legs in such a way as to expose the vastus externus of the quadriceps extensor muscle of one of his thighs. Sometimes the exposed leg is slightly bent at the knee, in order to obtain a uniformly even surface. Lest the leg in question be moved from its position or the muscle relax through trembling, the patient usually thrusts one of his hands (the left, in case he presents the right thigh to be slapped) between the two legs and sustains the exposed thigh from beneath.

FIG. 1. THE *Bintâ'g* GAME

When everything is ready, the other man, the agent (*maŋná*) prepares himself to strike a blow on the exposed muscle with the flat of his hand. This preparation is very elaborate: the agent starts from a place at some distance from the patient and approaches, retreats and approaches again several times in succession, every time contorting his body in every possible way, and swinging his arms, especially the one that has to strike the blow, to and fro, up and down, as if he was going to strike a score of enemies. When coming near his opponent, he occasionally pats the exposed muscle with just a slight

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blow, as if to prepare both that muscle and his own hand for the final blow. The more abundant and gracious the contortions of the agent, the more his performance will be admired by the bystanders. All the while, of course, the patient follows the movements of his opponent with anxious eyes, and as soon as the latter has struck his

FIG. 2. THE *Maqtá'n* IN THE *Bimá'g* GAME

blow, provided it was well done, patient and lookers-on alike examine the skin of the slapped thigh to see if it has been cracked. This is far from being a rare occurrence, and occasionally blood may be seen spurting from the cracks. The best blows are those that are given with a short dry slap and that resound with a clear clapping noise.

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524 865 After this the patient takes his turn in playing the rôle of agent, and all excitement, and perhaps filled with a spirit of revenge, he will try to elicit even more applause than his predecessor by the gracefulness and abundance of his contortions, and by the keenness of his final blow. Sometimes both men repeat the performance once and again, and even several times in succession; but the general rule is one slap to each individual.

All the time some of the bystanders are challenging one another to a similar combat and as soon as the two customary blows have been struck, or in case the same two men played the *bisndg* several times in succession, as soon as these are tired or otherwise stop slapping one another, the next pair takes to the platform.

B. MENTAL EDUCATION

212 868 Let us now turn to the question of mental education. Here at least we meet with a kind of formal training. To make the matter very simple, I shall begin by mentioning the fact that the Isneg have no system of writing, and there is consequently no room for teaching anything concerned with either reading or writing; and, whereas there are no recognized hereditary chiefs among them, all children are practically on the same level. But all of them have to learn the spoken language of the people, and without the help of someone to teach them, most youngsters would remain ignorant of a good many terms that every decent Isneg should know. Moreover such knowledge has to be imparted to them at the earliest opportunity.

868 855 Here the mother, without being recognized specifically as a teacher, takes upon herself to instruct her child as soon as it begins to be able to talk. She tells it the names of articles of furniture, animals, trees, and whatever comes in their way. This is done formally, but not systematically. I mean that the mother really teaches her child, but she does this only on the occasion of meeting the object whose name she wishes her baby to know. The father also does not fail to teach his boys, who have attained the age at which they leave the usual company of their mother and follow their male parent, the names of some objects of which they might still be ignorant, for instance the names of constellations, and more especially the names of places, brooks, etc., which they meet on their way while travelling. Even in the case of small children of both sexes, the father gladly plays the instructor, whenever there is some occasion to do so, although as a rule the mother is supposed to impart most of that kind of training

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462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother
861 as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the
[869] required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax *(aliwa)* of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow; [524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

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formed by any of the shamans. Indeed, why should the spirits be enticed to obsess the shaman at a time when everybody is bent on keeping them at a distance? Besides, the souls of the dead should be left where they are as long as the *inndt* is in the house, probably lest the *kadudued* of the deceased be interfered with on its trip to the other world.

Women mourn and lament in a loud voice almost uninterruptedly, usually two or three at a time: when one group is tired, another one takes its place. Men rarely imitate them in this, especially after the first general outburst of grief, that takes place immediately after death is over, but they *magbibisndg* (slap one another's thighs: the game previously described, CAC–P, 3: 123-26). According to the Isneg, playing *bisndg* is a man's way of showing his grief: a certain chastisement of the body is undoubtedly involved in the whole performance, and just as the near relatives sometimes cut themselves at the death of one of their loved ones in order to show the intensity of their sorrow, so also the men, relatives, neighbors and friends, slap one another's thighs, often until blood spurts out, in order to prove to the whole assembly that they also take part and are far from remaining insensible in the presence of death. That a certain amount of voluntary infliction of pain is at the root of this question, is corroborated by the fact that some women occasionally take part in the *bisndg*, the more so that no member of the weaker sex ever plays the rôle of agent (*maúnd*), but merely receives the slaps (*magtán*) without rendering them. Expressions like the following may be heard frequently among the Isneg: "*Uráy magdáza ya apélko ta xakkánnamagsáúit* (even though my thighs bleed, as I do not weep)". In both cases, namely in that of men and in that of women, the *bisndg* is resorted to more especially by those who do little or no weeping; people, whether men or women, who do a good deal of lamenting, rarely take part in *bisndg*.

It goes without saying that the spirits are wide awake at the death of an Isneg, and that the survivors are annoyed with their unwelcome presence at every turn. Among others the following deserve special mention:

Dupappá-, whose tastes are very peculiar; indeed, he it is who absorbs the decayed matter (*saxó*) that flows from the nose and mouth of the deceased.

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The following terms have been heard at Talifugu (Bo dialect): 243 195

	Common language	Reapers' cant
Dog:	*áto*	*alíal*
Hog:	*ábuy*	*dinakán*
Chicken:	*anú-*	*kăyabkáb*
Monkey:	*ayóń*	*kilsáp*
Cat:	*kusá*	*lannáń*
To eat:	*mańán*	*mańunág* [39]

This is also the time[1] for proposing riddles (*baníko*), a pastime that is taboo in other seasons. Most of these riddles are stereotyped and well known all over the district, otherwise the solution of some of them would be absolutely impossible, as they consist of words that have become obsolete or that are entirely without meaning. Nevertheless new riddles are always welcome, and so the inventive genius of some of the natives is given much scope. 524

In order to avoid crowding into this paper too large a number of native texts, I refer the reader to a paper to be published subsequently, in which I give a long list of riddles and of their answers, all of them gathered during my prolonged sojourn in Apayaw.

It is also customary among the natives to set snares (*ílug*) for jungle fowls all around the *kómăn*, at the time of the harvest, when these birds are especially bold. An Isneg never fails to improve the opportunity of getting a few choice morsels at little cost. 223

Harvest time is the season in which most spirits, good and bad, are abroad, and so the Isneg has a busy time, first to force his protectors to come and help him, and then to propitiate or drive away the evil imps that are intent either on stealing or harming his paddy, his most valued possession, or on playing all kinds of mischief and mean tricks. Besides these, in almost every village, we find one or more dwelling places of special *aníto* (spirits) that have to be remembered at this time of the year. At Dangla, for instance, the reapers never omit to pay their respects to the genius who lives at *Pinaxolowán*, by offering him *inapúxăn* (betel for chewing). 243 782

When offering *inapúxăn* to the spirits, at harvesting time, some or all of the following prayers may be recited:

Iápugko íkăw ulát ta umad-adăyyóka kadakamí (I offer betel [for chewing] to you, Famine, so that you be going away from us).

[39] *Mazunág*, in ordinary language, means: to enter the house.

1 [i.e., at harvest time -- Analyst]

252 412 [45] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [84] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not 857 have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games. [86] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [86] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.

765 The bereaved husband or wife
515 must continue in mourning during several months even up to a year, according to the time set by the relatives of the deceased. He must wear white cothes and cannot take a bath nor eat rice during that time.

When the time of mourning is over, a smaller *callas* is held. Only then can the bereaved husband or wife remove his white clothes, take a bath, and don his usual garments. His mourning has changed into happiness again.

000 Thus life has been going on and on through the centuries in the lovely land of Apayao.

PUZZLES

● 524 I. An enchanted tree grows on the bank of the river.
539 During the day time, it stands straight toward the sky; but when the night comes, it lies flat and blocks the river, rendering it impassable to any boatman. However, a certain boatman did pass. How did he manage it?

SOLUTION: He made a great fire of leaves there so that the enchanted tree thought that day had come and it stood up. The boatman then poled with all his might and was able to pass safely.

II. There were three carabaos on one side of the river, but no grass; so they wanted to cross to the other side. However, there was a crocodile who promised to eat the one female carabao. What did the two male carabaos do to save the female carabao from the hungry crocodile?

SOLUTION: The male carabao went first; the female seized its tail in her mouth. The crocodile waited, of

course, for the last carabao, saw it was a male: so it left off. 524 539

III. There is a small girl; but when she goes out of a house, it cannot hold her.

SOLUTION: The small girl is smoke.

IV. It can carry lumber but cannot carry a needle.

SOLUTION: It is water.

V. When they are in, they are brothers; but when they are taken out, they fight each other.

SOLUTION: They are flint and steel.

NURSERY SONG 539

(In the Nabuañgan River Dialect)

I. *We-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we*
Matadug can waguicon ta lombet dan amangen,
Mangil bet linoto wen ta canan ta daddanen.
We-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we, we-ya-we
Please sleep now my brother,
Father will come by and by bringing for us to eat.

II. *Wac-wac-wac-wac-wac-wac*
Matodug can catingen;
Ta awad gayang Malilak
Nga tomabtab can co ota-c.
Wac-wac-wac-wac-wac-wac
Please sleep now my little baby;
Because there is a crow from (Mount) Malilak
That will eat your brain if you do not stop crying.